

William F. Buckley Jr.: *Moynihan, Chile and CIA*

The word is out that Ambassador Daniel Patrick Moynihan has expressed in a secret cable the dismay with which he meets the news that the CIA attempted to "interfere" with the election of Chilean President Salvador Allende. Moynihan is a man of great principle, and he is especially embarrassed because he personally reassured Mrs. Gandhi that the United States was not interfering with Chilean politics.

A State Department official, while not conceding that we have done anything improper in Chile, acknowledged that Moynihan was indignant, but then remarked that "Pat is always indignant." He has a lot to be indignant about.

THE CIA-CHILE controversy is hugely subtle and interesting. Last year Moynihan persuaded the United States to tear up several billion dollars in notes owed by India to the United States.

Now India is a terribly mismanaged country, and the poverty there appalling. There are Indians (I know one, a very prominent Indian) who believe that U.S. aid to the governments of India during the post-

war period was arrant interference in Indian politics. We took the position that we were merely performing humanitarian deeds.

I do not doubt that was our motive. And I do not doubt that was our motive in attempting to help the resisters to Allende. Moreover, if we had succeeded, Chile would have been spared the miserable, dirty, despotic tribulations it is enduring at this moment.

That doesn't, of course, dispose of the point that State Department officials apparently misled congressional committees. Put that aside, for the moment, as a democratic dilemma.

IT IS A PITY that critics of CIA involvement in Chile do not put the situation in context. It is made to appear as though we uniquely desired to fashion the will of the Chilean people. In the year before Allende came to power:

1) Soviet and East European films were shown regularly in commercial theaters, universities, clubs, and on television—paid for by the Soviets.

2) The Soviet Union published a picture magazine edited for Chilean consumption, with a circulation of 10,-

000. (In U.S. terms, that would be the equivalent of 200,000.)

3) The Communist party of Chile, under Soviet domination, produced a bimonthly theoretical journal and a daily newspaper.

4) The Soviet Union, Cuba, Czechoslovakia and Poland participated in trade fairs including cultural and technical exhibits, including one exhibit of over 500 Marxist books contributed by the USSR. One exhibit was devoted to "Yankee aggression in Vietnam."

5) Communist news agencies included China, Cuba, East Germany, Tass, and Novosti.

6) The USSR broadcasts 73 hours per week in Latin America, East European countries 84 hours, Communist China 28 hours. And Cuba 163 hours.

7) Soviet officials made available program tapes to provincial radio stations. One station carried a weekly program produced by Chilean students at Lumumba University. The Communist party conducted regular programs on a Santiago station and on six provincial stations.

WHAT SHOULD the United States do, under such circumstances? In another connection,

Ambassador Moynihan, indignant over America's supine presence in the United Nations, cabled prescriptions not inapplicable in attempting to understand the Chilean situation. "There was a saying around the Kennedy White House: don't get mad, get even . . . what has come over us? Forget about a slander on our honor? What have we become? Any country that does not support us on a matter of consequence not only damages the United Nations, but must quietly be brought to understand it is damaging itself. I looked down the list of those who go along by abstaining. In half of them the present regimes would collapse without American support or American acquiescence. To hell with it."

"Something specifically bad should happen to each one of them, and when it has happened they should be told that Americans take the honor of their democracy most seriously, and never issue warnings to those who would besmirch that honor. When that happens, something extraordinarily disagreeable happens next, and the victim is left to figure it out for himself."

"But for that sort of thing, don't bring in the CIA?"

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